

August 1984

# RIPON FORUM

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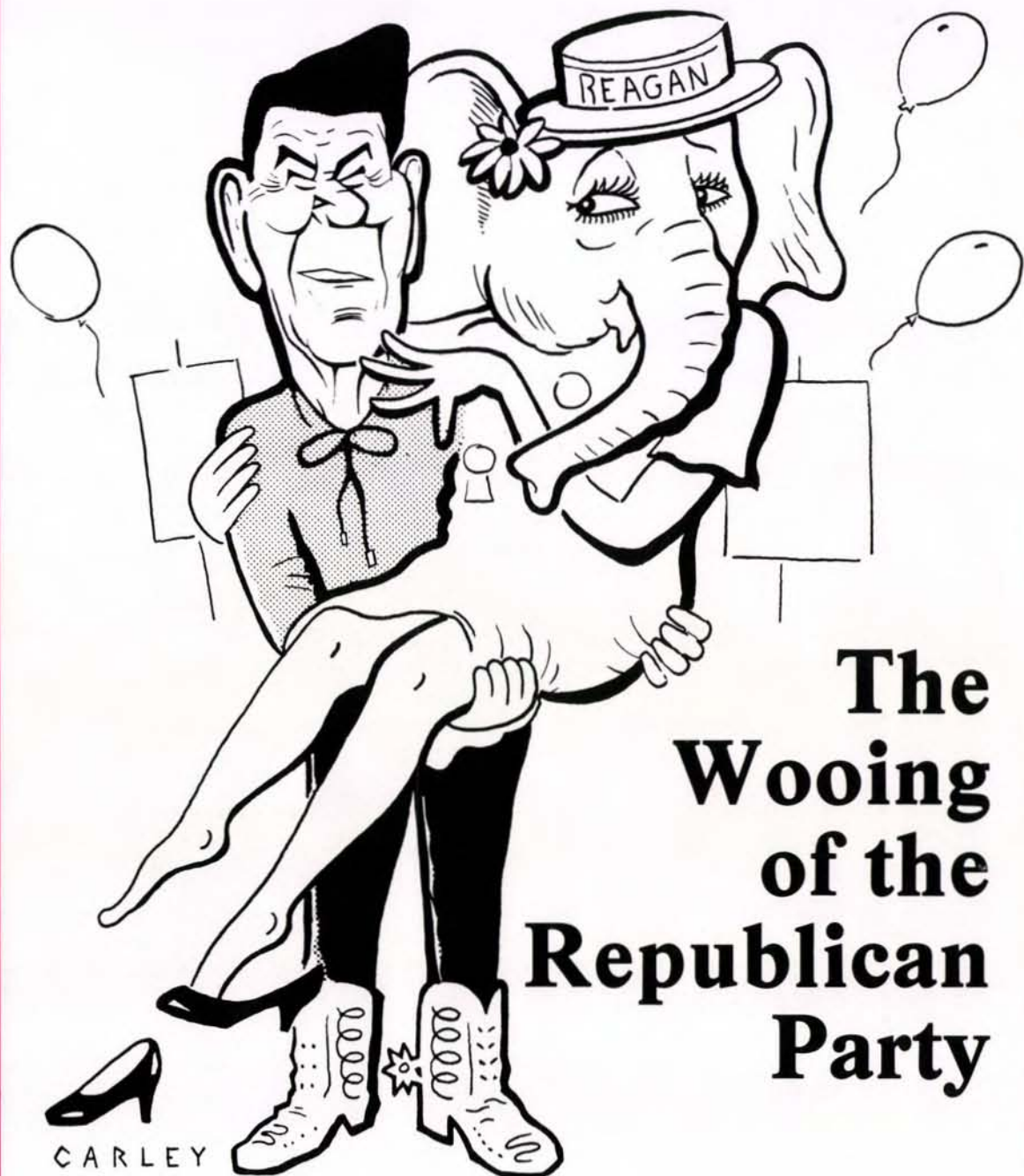
Conversation with  
Glyn Nofziger

Primer for the  
GOP Convention

Who Says Party  
Platforms Don't Matter?

Freeze Politics and the  
Republican Future

Republicans in the  
Mainstream



**The  
Wooing  
of the  
Republican  
Party**

CARLEY



# RIPON FORUM

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## RIPON FORUM

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## Editor's Column

*The Republican National Convention convenes in Dallas this month and the nomination of Ronald Reagan is assured. But what is not assured is the direction the Republican Party will take after Ronald Reagan's presidency.*

*Discussion about that direction begins in the pages of this magazine. Lyn Nofziger comments on the party's future and the state of the conservative movement. Ken Ruberg of the newly founded Republican Mainstream Committee and Jayne Hart of the Ripon Society present a "primer" on the 1984 convention and tell of its importance to the party's future. Ripon Society Chairman Jim Leach also discusses the importance of the Dallas Convention and the significant role of moderates there. Paul Zimmerman, a former Newsweek writer and a delegate to the 1984 convention, explains the importance of the nuclear freeze campaign to the GOP. 1984 Texas Republican Senate hopeful Rob Mosbacher, a bright, young moderate, presents his views on the party's course and provides examples by which it can be broadened. Perhaps what links these individuals together is their conviction that today's Republican Party must be responsible for achieving what Walter Lippmann once credited Theodore Roosevelt with: "turning the American mind in the direction it needed to go in the twentieth century."*

—Bill McKenzie

## Convention Schedule

### August 13-15

Platform Subcommittee Hearings and Debate

### August 14

Rules Committee adoption of proposed rules for 1984 Convention and delegate allocation in 1988

### August 16-17

Platform Committee Debate

### August 21

First Day of Convention

- final meetings on Platform and Rules
- keynote speech

### August 22

Convention approval of proposed Platform and Rules

### August 23

Selection of presidential nominee

### August 24

Last Day of Convention

- selection of vice presidential nominee
- evening speeches by both nominees



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**Profiles and Perspectives  
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*Lyn Nofziger has been associated with the American conservative movement since 1966. It was then that he left the world of political reporting and joined the campaign staff of a California gubernatorial candidate: Ronald Reagan. When that candidate became governor, Nofziger served in his administration for two years as director of communications. Later, he was instrumental in Mr. Reagan's 1976 and 1980 presidential bids. While Nofziger served for one year in the Reagan White House as assistant to the president for political affairs, he now is a partner in a Washington political consulting firm. He thus has both the experience and vantage point from which to share with **Forum** editor Bill McKenzie his views on the Reagan presidency, the Republican party, the press and the conservative movement.*

**A Conversation  
with  
Lyn Nofziger**



**Ripon Forum:** It has been said that Ronald Reagan's 1980 election began with the publishing of Barry Goldwater's 1962 book, *Conscience of a Conservative*. Two decades have passed. What are your thoughts on the conservative movement?

**Nofziger:** That's an interesting question. I think the conservative movement is still alive and viable. The country is generally more conservative than it was 20 years ago. Yet the far right is beginning to play itself out. There's less of a radical right fringe than there was five years ago.

The reason for this may be that the country elected Ronald Reagan, so it is much more difficult for the radical right to inflame people. The American people have their person in the White House and they are willing to give him a chance. At the same time, I think the full center of American politics has moved rightward.

**Ripon Forum:** Minus its radicalism, what happens to the conservative agenda?

**Nofziger:** I don't think it changes much. There's just more recognition that you can't remake the world overnight. It's a matter of not getting all you want today. You have to compromise. Our whole system of government is built upon that and the system's strength is that there tends to be fewer radical claims and a great deal of compromise. More and more conservatives are recognizing this. They know that we're not going to turn the country around in a day; that we're not going to get all of the loaf now.

***"You have to compromise. Our whole system is built upon that."***

**Ripon Forum:** But what about the recent remarks made by *Conservative Digest* publisher Richard Viguerie? He said that he and a number of other New Right leaders are considering the formation of a third party.

**Nofziger:** My advice to them is: "Be my guest. Go ahead and do what you want." It's all well and good to say that you are going to lead, but you have to get people to follow. And in this country, you have to get a significant number of people to follow.



**Ripon Forum:** Will people follow them?

**Nofziger:** I don't think so. There is no record that they have enthused large numbers of people. There are some already frustrated people who are with them. That's fine. But I don't think they are going to get anywhere. Look at the record of third parties in this country. And, remember, neither Terry Dolan nor Richard Viguerie is exactly a man on a white horse.

**Ripon Forum:** Is the Reagan-Bush campaign going to distinguish itself from that brand of conservatism?

**Nofziger:** No, not at all. The purpose of a campaign is to win an election. The president will lay out his positions and state his plans and dreams for the future. But we're not going to divide ourselves from either those on the right or the left. We need the Ripon Society. I hope we will get it.

*"We're not going to divide ourselves from either those on the right or on the left. We need the Ripon Society. I hope we will get it."*

**Ripon Forum:** House Republicans from both sides of the party have recently formed organizations to provide alternatives for the GOP. One is the Conservative Opportunity Society headed by Georgia's Newt Gingrich. The other is the Republican Mainstream Committee headed by Iowa's Jim Leach. What is your opinion of these groups?

**Nofziger:** The strength of both parties is that they have groups which form an organization within the larger organization. They do so to get things done. Ripon is an example. But the key is that they come together to support the party at election time.

**Ripon Forum:** Sure, but how do you manage the tension?

**Nofziger:** You don't have to worry about managing the tension. It's healthy to have alternatives. It's a good outlet for people who have different views and it gives the American people a variety of views from which to make their decision. The genius of the system is that it's very difficult to fragment the parties, like they are in France. Instead, you get movements within our parties that must come back together at the end if they want to get anything done.

**Ripon Forum:** Illinois's moderate Republican senator, Charles Percy, is in a close reelection race this year with liberal Democratic Congressman Paul Simon. But Richard Viguerie says, "I'd like to see Chuck Percy not reelected. The Senate, from a conservative point of view, would be a better place without him." What is your reaction to this?

**Nofziger:** I disagree with Viguerie. As a matter of fact, I wrote Chuck Percy a recent letter and told him that while I disagree with him on many things, I am one conservative who is whole-heartedly behind his reelection. I did that because I don't think that Richard Viguerie and some of his people really understand our system.

The fact is that unless you control the Senate, you don't get a lot done. Unless you control committees, unless you control the agenda, you're always fighting a defensive battle. It's a lot more fun to fight that kind of battle, but to get the things done that Richard Viguerie stands for you have to control the government. And they don't want to control it, except on their terms. Unfortunately, it doesn't work that way.

**Ripon Forum:** As Lyn Nofziger sits in Washington, does he feel out of touch with the rest of the country?

**Nofziger:** Terribly so. You have to get out in the country. Many members of Congress lose touch because they have moved back here; Washington has become their home. They go back and forth on airplanes, but they don't have to be part of the community anymore. This has occurred thanks to the airplane and air conditioning, which Washington's summers demand.

**Ripon Forum:** Many think the press has also lost touch. Since it is a body that should not be regulated, how can this be overcome?

**Nofziger:** There are two bodies of press in Washington. One is the press that prints here or has its headquarters here. The other is made up of the reporters who represent newspapers from around the country. Were I the editor of a paper in Detroit or Chicago or Los Angeles, I would rotate people, probably after five years. It takes a while to learn this town, but after that I would move them out.

But while there are deficiencies in our system, there's not much more you can do except to accept them — unless you are willing to give up some of your freedom. I'm not willing to do that.

**Ripon Forum:** Let's return to the conservative movement. Where is Ronald Reagan headed?

**Nofziger:** Valhalla.

*"... I don't think that Richard Viguerie and some of his people really understand our system."*

**Ripon Forum:** Oh really? What about on domestic policy?

**Nofziger:** I think you will see a president perhaps a little less willing to compromise in his second term. I think you will also see the White House come up with two or three new initiatives. If you go back and look at his second term as governor, you will see it was then that he came up with tax and welfare reforms. I think you also might see him pushing hard in areas such as enterprise zones. But I'm guessing. I don't know of any plans they have on the drawing board. I'm not sure, in all honesty, that they have any.

**Ripon Forum:** If the president is less willing to compromise, what will be the result?

**Nofziger:** I think it will be positive. If I had a complaint about this administration, and understand that I don't always agree with Ronald Reagan, it's that some people in the White House have pushed him into compromise before it was necessary and into compromising to a greater extent than was necessary.



**Ripon Forum:** Gary Hart attracted a number of moderate Republican voters this year. He also drew heavily from the so-called "yuppie" vote — young, urban professionals. John Anderson also drew heavily from these voters in 1980. In fact, he recruited a number of them into the GOP. While this bloc of voters is not large enough to elect a president, it is a significant swing vote. What plans does the Reagan-Bush campaign have to speak to these voters?

**Nofziger:** I am not a spokesperson for the Reagan-Bush campaign. Having said that, I go back to what I said earlier: we thoroughly recognize that there aren't enough conservative Republicans to elect anyone to anything. We've got to hold our entire party and we've got to get 20-25 percent of the Democrats and half the independents. From that standpoint, it's clear that we have to offer a better alternative than Walter Mondale does. Fortunately, we are not running in a vacuum. For the middle-of-the-road voter there is a choice between Ronald Reagan and his for years and Walter Mondale and his record.

**Ripon Forum:** But if that middle-of-the-road voter is apprehensive that Ronald Reagan will not bend a little on a sensitive issue like, let's say, relations with the Soviets . . .

**Nofziger:** I think they have seen him bending with the Soviets a lot. Especially within the last few weeks. You know, you can only bend so far. The other guy's got to bend, too.

**Ripon Forum:** But this is an election year. Assuming that he is reelected, will the same pressures be placed upon him next year?

**Nofziger:** Irrespective of whether you like a man as president, I cannot remember in my lifetime any president who has sought to do what he thought was best for the country and hasn't been willing to bend on some questions, especially if it appears that public opinion wants him to bend.

*"I think you will see a president perhaps a little less willing to compromise in his second term."*

But there's a difference between bending and yielding. I am not sure that even the vast repository of the middle-of-the-road vote wants the president to yield. And the point I always try to remember is that Ronald Reagan, for all his conservative views, won last time. So why should he change markedly from the positions that brought him into power?

**Ripon Forum:** But take arms control. Public opinion polls have shown that 65 percent of the American public is convinced a nuclear war will break out in the next 20 years. Polls also have shown that a 77-20 percent majority favor a nuclear freeze agreement with the Soviet Union. If these polls are accurate, won't such sentiments work against Ronald Reagan and his more hawkish views during the coming election?

**Nofziger:** It's hard to tell. First of all, nearly every poll shows the American people favor Reagan over Mondale. And, as a people, the American public looks at presidents from a number of standpoints. I mean you've got your single issue people, but they are a minority.

Second, when Ronald Reagan is out on the campaign stump, talking about where he is on arms control, talking about what

he wants to do, explaining that it isn't he who has walked away from the bargaining table, that will help a lot. I don't think the administration has yet to do an effective job of presenting its side of the story.

*"We thoroughly recognize that there aren't enough conservatives to elect anyone to anything. We've got to hold our entire party and we've got to get 20-25 percent of the Democrats and half the Independents."*

**Ripon Forum:** On arms control?

**Nofziger:** Yes, but on a lot of other things, too. I think that will change as the president gets down to the campaign.

**Ripon Forum:** How?

**Nofziger:** You will see the president speaking a lot more frequently.

**Ripon Forum:** You know Ronald Reagan well. What does he enjoy most about his job?

**Nofziger:** He has seen that this is the chance to get done some of the things he always wanted to get done. He's not a guy who's sitting up there saying, "Hey, I want to ensure my place in history; I want to go down as a great man." He's not that kind of person. He doesn't look up every day and say, "Is what I do today going to wind up in the history books?" I think that he's got a genuine concern for the country and for what it ought to be in the world. As he moves it along that path, towards where he wants it to go, even though it's a slow movement, he gets a lot of satisfaction.

*"The point I always try to remember is that Ronald Reagan, for all his conservative views, won last time. So why should he change markedly from the positions that brought him into power?"*

**Ripon Forum:** What does he enjoy least?

**Nofziger:** Like everybody else, he gets frustrated with people who he thinks are putting politics ahead of the national good. Of course, my politics can be your national good and vice versa. I think the details also get to him; he is not a detail man.

**Ripon Forum:** Assuming Ronald Reagan is reelected, and the cult of personality surrounding the "Great Communicator" fades — as it must near the end of his second term — what will happen to the Republican Party? The Democratic Party will have had more opportunity to rebuild and the conservative agenda will have had more time to play itself out.

**Nofziger:** I don't know. One of the things that I find of interest is that conservatism is on the rise on college campuses. Two years from now those people will become "yuppies," if you will. Add to that the fact that as today's "yuppies" grow



older, and perhaps become more conservative, which often occurs when people grow older, there might be a good deal of conservative sentiment left.

But I just don't know. You're going to have to wait for a couple of years and see if the political center is in the same place as it was in 1984.

**Ripon Forum:** As you know, the Republican National Committee cancelled platform hearings this year. In their place a day of hearings have been scheduled in Dallas the week before the convention. Some think that's hardly enough time to allow for adequate platform debate and possible change. The party seems to be increasingly structured from the top down. What makes you think it will not narrow and self-destruct?

**Nofziger:** Whenever you have a sitting president, the party in power tends to basically protect the presidency. In fact, if you went back and looked at 1980, I bet you would find the Democrats didn't have wild hearings around the country. But when a party's out-of-power, they can go ahead and have their broad-based hearings, etc., and try to get a sense of where the party is. Since Ronald Reagan will not be running for reelection in 1988, there will be broad-based hearings. I do not think that the lack of hearings is a lasting thing.

I also think that when you have someone running for reelection as president, you don't want the party torn apart by fights over its platform. The president is there to lead the party. It doesn't have anything to do with what is going to happen to parties in the long run.

**Ripon Forum:** Are parties becoming stronger or weaker?  
**Nofziger:** They're becoming a little different. I don't see a time in the immediate future when you're not going to have a two-party system. They may be becoming a little more fragmented and a little less disciplined, but they are not becoming multiple parties.

**"[Ronald Reagan] is not a guy who's sitting up there saying, 'Hey, I want to ensure my place in history.' He doesn't look up every day and say, 'Is what I do today going to wind up in the history books?' He's got a genuine concern for the country."**

**Ripon Forum:** Is less discipline desirable?

**Nofziger:** It depends on who you are.

**Ripon Forum:** Whether or not you're on top?

**Nofziger:** That's right.

**Ripon Forum:** What shall we look for in Dallas?

**Nofziger:** I think you're going to see some effort to change the platform. But I'm not sure these efforts will be all that serious. Aside from that, look for a show and a coronation. It's a re-run of 1972, minus the break-in, I hope. ■

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Don't confuse us with the likes of *The Nation* or *The American Spectator*. Or publications akin to *The Progressive* or *National Review*. We are a group of independent thinkers and we offer intoxicating ideas.

For example, this year we have provided planks for the GOP platform, warned the Republican Party of the importance of the emerging center in American politics and critiqued the Democratic opposition. We have talked with presidential advisers, historians and television commentators. We have analyzed the politics of Taiwan, South Africa and West Germany.

Before this year we reported on the growing alliance between Reverend Sun Myung Moon, his Unification Church and leaders of the New Right. We also told you about "New Federalism" before Ronald Reagan did. And we have told you about the power of Washington's special interests, offering perspectives from both sides.

Why have we done this? To force you — as well as ourselves — to think beyond traditional means. If you don't want to be challenged, then don't read on — we are not the magazine for you.

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# The Republican National Convention

## A Primer

by Jayne Hart and Ken Ruberg

**T**he Republican National Convention of 1984 will offer its candidate, Ronald Reagan, to the nation as the undisputed leader of a seemingly unified Republican Party. In what's viewed by political scientists and pundits alike as a rare event in late 20th century American politics, the president will arrive in Dallas as the party's uncontested nominee. Once there, televised coverage of the most carefully orchestrated nomination process and political celebration in history will suggest there is some truth in Walter Mondale's slightly envious characterization of the GOP convention as "very quiet . . . like a graveyard."

The reasons for the president's near complete domination of this year's Republican Party are easily understood. After twenty years on the campaign trail and four years in the White House, it is clear that President Reagan's calming style of leadership and publicly-appealing personality, his ability to communicate with the public and lobby the Congress, his spectacular victory over Jimmy Carter in 1980 and strong showing in today's polls all serve to provide him with the political power necessary to lead a party with opposition. If presidential power stems almost solely from the power to persuade, this president possesses it in great quantity.

Less well understood or apparent at this date is the extent and nature of a contest already underway to determine the future direction of Republican politics. As much as Americans dislike three-year campaigns for the presidency, the real campaigns for national influence last far longer, making it possible to identify six to ten aspiring Republican presidential candidates preparing for 1988 or 1992. Despite the likely presence of ten thousand journalists in Dallas, most of them focusing on colorful speeches about the past and the politics of August to November 1984, the real story of this convention will receive far less attention. That story deals not with Ronald Reagan and a likely second term in which to pursue his agenda, but with the emerging appearance, character and tone of the post-Reagan Republican Party and its candidates.

### The Past

Any prediction of this convention's potential significance necessarily reflects a perception of recent Republican history. The author(s) claim no special credentials in either history or any other scholarly field of endeavor, but a few simple observations merit attention.

1. "Conservative" influence within the Republican Party has increased since 1960, although to a lesser degree than frequently assumed. As often noted in these pages, the Republican Party of 1860-1976 reflected viewpoints on individual freedom, conservation of our natural resources, military interventionism, economic development and government's role in the economy, and more recently on arms control, which are characterized today as "progressive." Any attempt

to broadly characterize Republican or Democratic philosophy over several decades is challenged by a number of factors, including the generally non-ideological nature of America's two major political parties, the tendency to assign too much historical meaning to individual personalities, regional differences in political parties, and the changing meaning of words common to our political vocabulary. It is nevertheless true that the heritage of Republican accomplishment in advancing freedom (Lincoln, citizenship and voting rights for blacks, suffrage, the ERA, civil rights initiatives in the '50s and '60s); in protecting the environment (from Teddy Roosevelt's creation of national parks to Richard Nixon's creation of the Environmental Protection Agency); and in restraining the military (Eisenhower's Antarctic treaty, Salt I and II) is undeniable.

A variety of demographic trends; cataclysmic political events like Vietnam, Watergate and a disastrous Carter presidency; and tactical factors described below have all served to create a political climate in which the Goldwater conservatives of the 1960s and Jesse Helms's conservatives of the 1970s have enjoyed greater visibility and perceived influence. Descriptions of the Republican Party as ideologically and permanently conservative ignore, however, the progressive accomplishments of Presidents Nixon and Ford as well as the significant gap between New Right rhetoric and actual achievement during the Reagan presidency.

2. *The New Right has taken full advantage of political opportunities, but may have already reached its peak of power.* Well documented in recent years is the emergence of a right-wing conservative network working primarily but not exclusively within the Republican Party. (See a review of John Saloma's *Ominous Politics* elsewhere in this magazine.) By using direct mail and newer forms of technology to communicate and raise funds, the radical right has not only taken full advantage of existing class, economic, race and religious differences, but reinforces those same differences by basing its appeals in language which inspires fear and hate.

The galaxy of New Right resources includes incumbent legislators and candidates, youth groups, PACs, in-house fundraising and media organizations, and think tanks. Fortunately, the New Right's power is apparently constrained by an even larger set of obstacles reflected by the following questions. If they haven't imposed their social agenda under a conservative Republican administration and Republican-controlled Senate, will they be able to? For how long can the New Right use the Reagan name to raise funds, yet continue to criticize him for frequent compromise? Given their narrow ideology, can the right expand its base of support? Would a Helms loss emasculate their power? Will the pendulum of opinion swing back towards the center? Unable to stomach the compromises necessary in American government, will the right form a new Conservative Populist Party in 1985 or 1986?

3. *The structure and rules of the Republican Party continue to favor the party's conservative wing at the national level.* The fundamental importance of party rules and structures is

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Jayne Hart is executive director of the Ripon Society.  
Ken Ruberg is director of the Republican Mainstream Committee.



## Who Says Party Platforms Don't Matter? This One Would!

**D**oes a party's platform make much difference? The 1984 answer is an unequivocal "yes." In a number of subtle and occasionally not-so-subtle ways, political constituencies and party activists frequently adjust their thinking, their commitments and their voting behavior in reaction to a party's candidates and platform. Look back at the Republican Party's decision to drop its endorsement of the Equal Rights Amendment, the Reagan administration's serious effort to keep promises made in the GOP's 1980 platform, and the still-strong gender gap and one begins to sense that the power of symbolism in American politics extends to platforms.

The 1984 Republican Party Platform, and efforts to influence it, will undoubtedly reflect an opening salvo in the contest for control of the post-Reagan Republican Party. After all, no matter how deserving of our support, American presidents serve only two terms. In that spirit, we offer our advice on the '84 Platform — A Republican Agenda for the Future.



**Arms Control  
and  
Responsible  
Internationalism**

**Dwight David Eisenhower:** *"Progress toward universal and enduring peace, as I see it, lies along three roads — organized international cooperation, mutual international understanding and progressive international disarmament. All must be travelled simultaneously."*

We believe that the preservation of international peace and security, as well as the electability of Republican candidates, is increasingly dependent upon successful arms control efforts.

We therefore support:

A fully verifiable U.S.-Soviet agreement to end the testing, production and deployment of new nuclear weapons systems, followed by substantial reductions in existing arsenals;

Negotiations with the Soviet Union to halt the further militarization of space, and oppose the establishment of space-based anti-ballistic missile systems;

A greater commitment to economic and diplomatic approaches to conflict in Central America;

The strengthening of international treaties banning the development, production and use of chemical and biological weapons;

Expansion of the Peace Corps;

A multilateral comprehensive test ban accord;

Greater commitment to seek the peaceful resolution of dispute through international law and institutions;

Expanded effort to prevent the further proliferation of nuclear weapons in the world; and

Greater multilateral restraint in conventional arms transfers to other nations in order to further regional stability and prevent the diversion of scarce resources from economic and social needs.



**Economic Policy  
and  
Federal Budget  
Priorities**

**Gerald R. Ford:** *"It is a question of simple arithmetic. Unless we check the excessive growth of federal expenditures or impose on ourselves matching increases in taxes, we will continue to run huge inflationary deficits in the federal budget."* State of the Union, 1975

We believe that efforts to achieve full employment and inflation-free growth in an interdependent world economy require a renewed U.S. commitment to deficit reduction, prudent and future-minded spending priorities and support for international financial institutions.

We therefore support:

Budget-wide restraint in federal spending, with particular attention to the defense budget and reform of Defense Department procurement programs;

A sustained federal commitment to elementary, secondary and higher education, with appropriate attention paid to the principle of local control;



The adoption of capital budgeting legislation to help ensure that America's physical infrastructure is rebuilt in a rational and cost-efficient manner;

Continued federal support for public and private agencies conducting biomedical, educational and scientific research;

The administration's ongoing commitment to the reform and simplification of the U.S. tax code;

Innovative Republican approaches to job training which recognize the need for public-private and federal-state cooperation;

Pragmatic efforts to manage the international debt crisis;

The establishment of monetary policy by an independent Federal Reserve Board, and oppose new efforts to politicize monetary policy making or return to the gold standard; and

Campaign finance reforms which enhance the political importance of individuals and political parties, while limiting the influence of political action committees (PACs) with undue influence on federal tax and spending policies.



### Women's and Civil Rights

**Abraham Lincoln:** "Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves."

We believe that personal independence, economic self-sufficiency and social integration are goals fundamental to the fabric of American society. The party of Lincoln's commitment to social justice has served the nation well; that commitment should be reaffirmed in the 1980s.

We therefore support:

Passage and ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment;

Stronger fair housing legislation to combat housing discrimination on the basis of race;

Passage of the Economic Equity Act or related legislation reforming statutes governing insurance and pensions, individual retirement accounts, dependent care and child support enforcement;

Strong enforcement of the Voting Rights Act and enactment of legislation protecting the voting rights of handicapped Americans;

The proposed Civil Rights Act of 1984 which would override the Supreme Court's *Grove City College* decision and encourage enforcement of civil rights statutes banning discrimination on the basis of race, sex, age or handicap;

Continued funding at adequate levels of federal family planning programs, and oppose any legislation or proposed constitutional amendment seeking to limit freedom of reproductive decision-making; and

Passage of appropriate state and federal legislation to responsibly balance and protect the rights of severely-handicapped newborns and infants and their parents.



### Conservation and the Environment

**Theodore Roosevelt:** "The nation behaves well if it treats our natural resources as assets which it must turn over to the next generation increased, and not impaired, in value."

We believe that the non-renewable character of most natural resources and a sensitive ecological balance requires bipartisan support for efforts to carefully balance the goals of environmental protection and economic development.

We therefore support:

Congressional reauthorization of a strong Clean Air Act, including provisions aimed at the problem of acid rain;

Public lands policies which ensure the maintenance and future expansions of America's national park system, which protect federal wilderness lands, and which make certain that other federally-owned lands are managed in a financially-sound manner;

The assigning of higher priority to programs aimed at combatting the erosion of America's top soil;

Adequate funding for coastal zone management programs which promote the careful development of offshore energy resources; and

A sustained federal commitment to the clean-up of toxic wastes through a well-funded SuperFund and other appropriate regulatory mechanisms. ■



best demonstrated by the Republican establishment's insistence that rules favoring the status quo remain in effect, and the biannual efforts of Democratic constituencies to reform the more complex rules governing that party's affairs.

Though heavily influenced by the wishes of incumbent Republican presidents, the day-to-day business of the Republican Party at the national level is theoretically managed by the Republican National Committee, each state represented by three members. Republicans in less-populated southern and western states are therefore over-represented on the Republican National Committee at the expense of Republicans in states like California, Texas, Florida, New York, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Connecticut and Massachusetts. In similar fashion, party rules allocating convention

***"All public hearings on the platform were abruptly cancelled last January and the writing of the president's platform has been wrapped in secrecy."***

delegates among the states were developed in the 1920s to discriminate against northeastern states with large numbers of immigrants and remain intact today. The Republican National Committee structure, delegate apportionment rules and election of the president and vice president by electoral college all serve to favor the interests of smaller, generally more conservative states in election and platform contests.

#### **The Dallas Convention**

What, then, given the objectives of the president and a number of emerging Republican or conservative leaders, will happen in Dallas? At some risk of post-convention embarrassment of the worst variety, we suggest the following.

Ronald Reagan's political interests are clear. First and foremost, his managers seek to minimize the risks of upsetting any part of his coalition with platform debate. Accordingly, all public hearings on the platform were abruptly cancelled last January and the writing of the president's proposed platform has been wrapped in secrecy. When the Platform Committee meets on August 13, only a few handpicked members of Congress, White House and Reagan-Bush '84 officials will have seen the proposal submitted to the Platform Committee for ratification. Most of the one hundred Platform Committee members elected by the states will not know which parts of the platform they are working on until they arrive, and one can be certain that delegates with strong views different than those of the president will occasionally be assigned to platform subcommittees dealing with less controversial issues.

The desired result is a platform written without public controversy and reflecting the administration's views on all major policy issues. As discussed below, conservative Representatives Jack Kemp and Newt Gingrich have created controversy by urging endorsement of a flat-tax proposal and a return to the gold standard, while moderates have criticized RNC secrecy and developed their own platform agenda. But the president is expected to prevail in any showdown. Put simply, Reagan-Bush '84 does not want an embarrassingly constructive platform nor do they want a statement which backs away from the '80 platform. One possible area of improvement: women's issues other than the ERA and reproductive choice, in response to Congresswoman Geraldine Ferraro's candidacy.

With regard to changes in the party rules, at least two possibilities exist. First, a proposed change would eliminate the current right of any six states to offer amendments or minority reports on the convention floor and may face opposition by moderates. A second proposal, all too aptly described as the "white man's rule," would ensure that no state is allocated fewer convention delegates than the number allocated to Puerto Rico or the District of Columbia. If the party's future presidential candidates are seeking rules changes to improve their odds, a must for moderates, they're doing so quietly.

Moderate Republicans have been working in recent months to ensure that progressive views on platform issues ranging from arms control and civil rights to fiscal restraint and environmental protection are heard in Dallas (see chart on pages 8 and 9). Ripon Society Chairman Jim Leach and former Republican National Chairwoman Mary Louise Smith have created a new organization named the Republican Mainstream Committee to "demonstrate the diversity of opinion which exists within the Republican Party." The committee is working with moderate delegates and a variety of bipartisan interest groups, and plans a full convention schedule of platform committee appearances, issue seminars, press conferences and receptions. Our prediction as biased observers: you'll be reading more about the Republican Mainstream Committee's activities in the August newspapers.

***"Expect a convention for all seasons."***

Finally, conservatives who view the president as too compromising and centrist will also assert their opinions on the GOP platform. Having had a hand in drafting the platform through members of Congress like Trent Lott, Jack Kemp, Newt Gingrich and Bob Kasten, it is unclear how assertive they will be in challenging the president through delegates on the Platform Committee like Phyllis Schlafly. Outside the convention hall, Kemp will join Moral Majority minister Jerry Falwell and others on the right to promote a "pro-family" platform. Conservative fundraiser and strategist Richard Viguerie suggests that the right-wing may simply sit out the platform deliberations in protest. Our advice: believe it when you see it.

One final note, Democratic-leaning organizations are planning protest marches in Dallas during the convention. Given the possible lack of real news in Dallas, look for the press to widely cover any expression of dissent, Republican or otherwise.

#### **Conclusion**

In summary, expect a convention for all seasons. The president will get the opportunity he seeks to stress broad economic and defense themes and exploit Mondale's weaknesses. Moderate Republicans will expand public awareness of their views and accomplishments, "voice an opening salvo of concern for the heart and soul of the Republican Party," in the words of Jim Leach, and gain greater support in the process. Prominent conservatives will lay further groundwork for the '88 election, hoping their base doesn't defect in a third party government. Not remote is the possibility that the president, in a cross-fire between those more and less conservative than he, will appear to be the centrist.

Only one prediction is foolproof. Win or lose in '84, no one will characterize the 1988 Republican National Convention as "very quiet . . . like a graveyard." ■



# GOP Rules

## Introduction

In 1980 officials of the GOP Convention Rules Committee recommended that the Republican National Committee report to the 1984 GOP Convention on the party's delegate allocation structure. So far, no report has been made. The current system, which gives no bonus for party loyalty or party turnout, remains. In fact, the nation's 13 most populous states, in which reside a sizable number of minority voters, are grossly underrepresented, no matter how Republican they are.

This phenomenon is not due to "federalism." Under the electoral college system the populations of small states already have an advantage. But the populations of the 13 largest states receive at least 50 percent fewer delegates than they are entitled to under the electoral college.

The device that ensures their underrepresentation is the "uniform victory bonus." It gives states a uniform number of delegates for presidential victories without reference to population. As a result, a state with a small population, like Alaska, which has a population per delegate of over 22,000, can more than double its convention strength with presidential victory bonuses. Yet a state with a large population, like California, which has a population per delegate of 134,000, can only increase its convention strength by 26 percent. The chart on this page bears this out, and shows that little incentive is given to Republicans in heavily-populated states to remain loyal to the party.



State	Population (000s)	Delegates 1984	Population/Delegate
Alabama	3894	38	102.47
Alaska	402	18	22.33
Arizona	2718	32	84.93
Arkansas	2286	29	78.82
California	23668	176	134.47
Colorado	2890	35	82.57
Connecticut	3108	35	88.80
Delaware	594	19	31.26
D.C.	638	14	45.57
Florida	9746	82	118.85
Georgia	5463	37	147.64
Hawaii	965	14	68.92
Idaho	944	21	44.95
Illinois	11427	93	122.87
Indiana	5490	52	105.57
Iowa	2914	37	78.75
Kansas	2364	32	73.87
Kentucky	3661	37	98.94
Louisiana	4206	41	102.58
Maine	1125	20	56.25
Maryland	4217	31	136.03
Massachusetts	5737	52	110.32
Michigan	9262	77	120.28
Minnesota	4076	32	127.37
Mississippi	2521	30	84.03
Missouri	4917	47	104.61
Montana	787	20	39.35
Nebraska	1570	24	65.41
Nevada	800	22	36.36
New Hampshire	921	22	41.86
New Jersey	7635	64	119.29
New Mexico	1303	24	54.29
New York	17558	136	129.10
North Carolina	5882	53	110.98
North Dakota	653	18	36.27
Ohio	10798	89	121.32
Oklahoma	3025	35	86.42
Oregon	2633	32	82.28
Pennsylvania	11864	98	121.06
Rhode Island	947	14	67.64
South Carolina	3122	35	89.20
South Dakota	691	19	36.36
Tennessee	4591	46	99.80
Texas	14229	109	130.54
Utah	1461	26	56.19
Vermont	511	19	26.89
Virginia	5347	50	106.94
Washington	4132	43	96.09
West Virginia	1950	19	102.63
Wisconsin	4706	46	102.30
Wyoming	470	18	26.11



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## Freeze Politics and the Republican Future

by Paul D. Zimmerman

**H**and-crafted in Washington and rubber-stamped in Dallas, the platform which emerges from the Republican National Convention is all but certain to reject a negotiated, verifiable nuclear weapons freeze as part of an overall arms strategy. Candidate Reagan, on the strength of his personal popularity, can probably survive in November, despite this serious break with mainstream American sentiment. But, for the hundreds of GOP congressional candidates, for both House and Senate, who must run under his banner, an official anti-freeze plank adopted in Dallas spells short-term trouble. For the Republican Party as a whole, a minority party seeking to broaden its base, this signals long-term disaster.

### A Freeze Coalition Develops

True, the freeze and the arms control sentiment it symbolizes first surfaced as an activist's issue. But it soon showed its political potential when a million marchers massed in New York for the June 12, 1982 peace parade. A year later, the freeze had enlisted a broad coalition of support, from former CIA director Bill Colby to the YMCA. Soon after, it gained a majority in the House. Democratic presidential hopefuls fell over one another in support of it. This past year, it's taken another major growth step: it's become a truly bipartisan issue, with freeze groups growing everywhere and with moderate Republicans breaking away from the administration's hard-line approach in response to this political sea-change.

***"What is more Republican than the nuclear freeze? It is grounded on assumptions that have guided three post-war Republican administrations."***

Lest anyone doubt the growing clout of the freeze and related arms control issues, examine the performance of the House on this spring's defense authorization bill. Republican Representative Larry Coughlin, a moderate from a tradition-

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ally safe Pennsylvania district, had shown himself in years past no easy friend of the freeze. This time, Coughlin went beyond the freeze to back a whole raft of arms control amendments: he rejected the so-called MX compromise to vote against funding the missile at all; he voted against chemical weapons development. But, most surprising of all, he led the charge in the House against President Reagan's "Star Wars" strategy. Clearly, Larry Coughlin was feeling the mortality of a "peace through strength" position and was quick to adjust.

***"The freeze is conservative, in the ultimate sense, being a first key step in the preservation of the planet. And it is fiscally conservative. The billions spent on nuclear weapons . . . makes big government bigger and more centralized — hardly Republican tenets."***

So popular and persuasive an issue has the freeze become that, this past spring, I, the president of the Bucks Alliance for Nuclear Disarmament, was elected by Bucks County Republicans as a delegate to the national convention. In fact, two of us won, running on a freeze platform, along with a freeze alternate. Surprising that the head of the county-wide freeze organization and a colleague should beat endorsed Republican delegate candidates running on a freeze platform? Perhaps. But consider this: a poll conducted by the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee showed 58% of all Bucks Republicans back a freeze.

And why not? What is more Republican than the nuclear freeze? It is surely a moderate, mainstream approach — grounded on assumptions that have guided three post-war Republican administrations — that, with adequate verification and through long, hard bargaining, workable arrangements can be reached and maintained with the Soviet Union, as in the atmospheric test ban treaty, which holds up to this day. The freeze is conservative, in the ultimate sense, being a first key step in the preservation of the planet. And it is fiscally conservative. The billions spent on nuclear weapons to pursue the administration's "peace through strength" strategy makes big government bigger and more centralized — hardly Republican tenets. It also contributes significantly to self-indulgent and outrageous deficit spending — the most un-Republican practice imaginable.



It is this last consideration that has vaulted the freeze to its current eminence as a majority, bipartisan issue, embraced by the Republican mainstream. People are beginning to connect military spending — especially nuclear weapons excesses — with skyrocketing deficits. The business community is scared. "Peace through strength" has produced nothing but bigger bills.

### **The Nuclear Price Tag**

America is an essentially pragmatic nation. Policies are embraced until they are perceived as no longer cost-effective — and jettisoned. Such is the case with the Reagan approach to arms control. It has not brought the Russians to the table; quite the reverse. Nor has it brought the Russian economy to its knees. It has fostered, simply, a nasty world situation all the riper for some fatal misunderstanding. And the cost? Americans are increasingly making the connection between \$300 billion defense outlays and \$200 billion deficits. Interest rates are climbing. Economic doom is forecast if something isn't done to reign in the national debt. And the current administration is projecting expenditures of somewhere between \$1.5 and \$2 trillion to project American power. Is it any wonder, then, that the freeze has received an increasingly receptive hearing in Republican circles?

Campaigning among Bucks County Republicans this past March and April, I heard the usual skepticism toward any arrangement with the Soviet Union. But, behind that, I also heard a willingness to listen, a readiness to be convinced that the freeze was a viable alternative to American bankruptcy. Enough people thought it worth the president's while to at least sit down and talk freeze with the Russians that I finished second among nine candidates running for four convention seats. And there is no reason to believe, as the economy shows the increasing strain of military overload, that impatience with current administration resistance to the freeze won't grow, swelling the already sizeable arms control constituency.

***"We have the formation of a formidable voting bloc, what one might call the 'freeze-financial nexus' making its voice heard in the House. At the same time, we have a minority party gathering in Dallas to ratify a national security plank which defies this growing majority."***

So here we have the formation of a formidable voting bloc, what one might call the "freeze-financial nexus" making its voice heard in the House. At the same time, we have a minority party gathering in Dallas to ratify a national security plank which defies this growing majority. What does such a spectacle portend for the president and for the Republican Party, this fall and beyond?

Ronald Reagan can most likely survive being on the wrong side of this issue, politically speaking. Compared to the freight carried by his Democratic opponent, "peace through strength" is probably a manageable albatross. But, for Republican candidates in all but the most conservative districts and states, the problem posed by a hard-line platform may very well be fatal.

***"Loyal to the president or responsive to the new arms control majority? That is the unsavory choice facing Republican office-seekers across America, as long as the official position embraces 'peace through strength.'"***

In Bucks County, for example, David Christian, a Republican and a decorated Vietnam war veteran is mounting a challenge against Peter Kostmayer, a pro-freeze Democrat. Christian is also pro-freeze but, to remain loyal to his commander-in-chief and to his loyalist fundraisers, Christian has also described himself as an advocate of "peace through strength." The contradiction here is clear — and sure to be exploited by Kostmayer, with telling effect. Loyal to the president or responsive to the new arms control majority? That is the unsavory choice facing Republican office-seekers across America, as long as the official party position embraces "peace through strength."

### **Beyond November**

And for the long run? How does the present administration arms attitude augur for the future of our party? For one thing, it concedes, for all intents and purposes, the fastest-growing, most urgent and far-reaching issue of our time to the Democrats. Not a promising strategy for a minority party. Beyond that, the "peace through strength" scenario mapped out by the administration promises to help ring up staggering deficits for the foreseeable future. How long before the public perception of Democrats as big spenders gives way to a new view of both parties as profligate? Such a change would mark a major reversal for the GOP. And what happens when the deficits come home to roost, as broadly expected sometime before the 1986 elections?

The Republican base has actually shrunk during Ronald Reagan's tenure. We have fewer governors, senators and state houses and fewer representatives than we did in 1981. What will happen when interest rates choke off recovery in 1986? How will the public view a party which plans to spend some \$450 billion in the next six years on nuclear weapons alone, without even trying to negotiate a freeze, all in the face of a growing arms control movement.

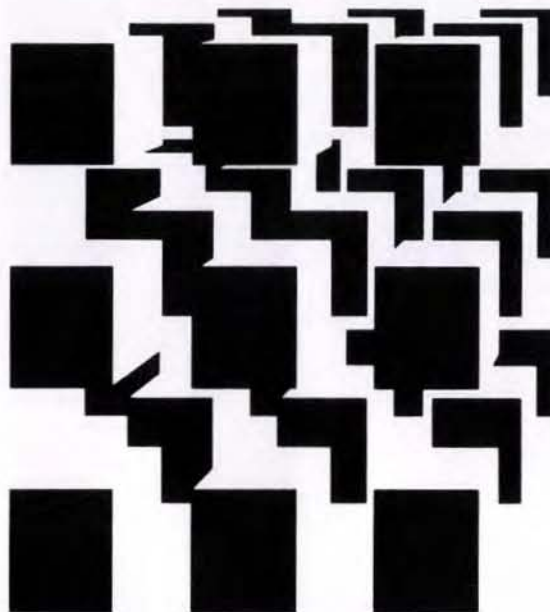
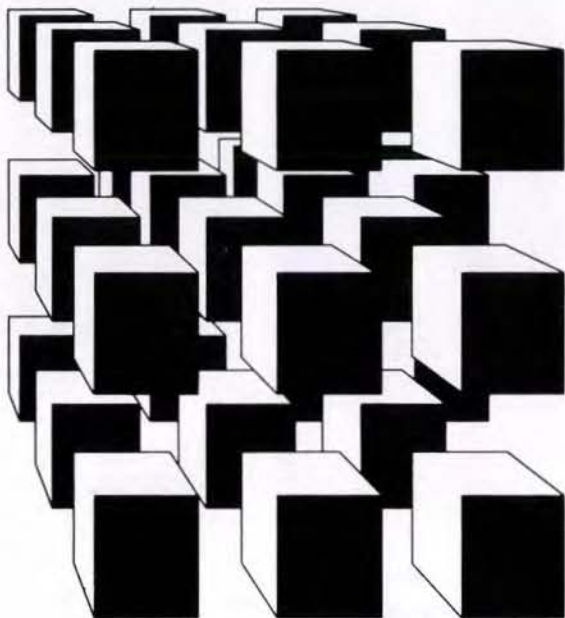
No. I would not like to be in the shoes of Arlen Specter or any other Republican up for re-election in 1982. I would not like to be running in the ruins of a fiscal policy which collapsed under the weight of massive arms expenditure. Let us hope, then, that our party is smart enough to see beyond November. Let us hope it welcomes debate in Dallas on a new arms policy, one which reflects the public debate raging elsewhere in our society, so that that growing body of Americans who seek both fiscal restraint and nuclear sanity can find some reason to consider themselves Republicans. ■



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## Challenges Before the GOP

by Rob Mosbacher



**O**ne of the more formidable challenges facing the Republican Party in 1984 and beyond, is how to reconcile its deep and abiding commitment to fiscal responsibility with the enduring need to seek new solutions to serious social and economic problems. While we have succeeded in convincing millions of Americans that we are the party of economic stability and growth, more work must be done to persuade them that we are also a party that cares about people.

***"We must begin by redefining the terms of the debate."***

In that regard, we must contend with Democratic Party claims that they have cornered the market on compassion, albeit at the expense of burgeoning government programs which have driven us to the brink of financial disaster. The challenge before us is to find ways of evidencing our concern for the less fortunate without departing from our fundamental adherence to fiscal austerity.

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*Rob Mosbacher was a candidate in Texas for the 1984 GOP Senate nomination and formerly was administrative assistant to Senator Howard Baker.*

### New Terms

We must begin by redefining the terms of the debate. It is essential to move beyond the two customary alternatives for dealing with social or economic ills in this country, i.e., a government program or nothing at all. We must include alternatives in which the private sector plays a role.

***"The challenge before us is to find new ways of evidencing our concern for the less fortunate without departing from our fundamental adherence to fiscal austerity."***

The intent is not to recreate the wheel, but rather to resurrect an approach which represented the only alternative 50 years ago: neighbor helping neighbor. Indeed, in the last three years alone, communities all across this country have been discovering new, creative ways to deal with a variety of local problems. Compelled by a combination of economic necessity and a political realization that fiscal austerity is the order of the day, the American people, once again, have been finding alternative means of dealing with their local concerns. It is known as private sector initiatives, or "voluntarism."



What are private sector initiatives? They are efforts by individuals or institutions in the private sector to deal with a social or economic concern either independently or in concert with government.

For instance, a coalition of businesses in New York provides summer jobs for disadvantaged kids after a loss of federal funding, a Rotary Club in Dayton adopts a day-care center as a project for its members in order to prevent its closing, or a local bar association in Houston organizes a *pro bono* legal assistance program to make up for the cuts in the Legal Services Corporation.

***"We must get organized at the local level and increase the breadth of participation in the process."***

Clearly, the financial resources of the private sector cannot compete with the largesse of the federal government. One need only compare the combined total corporate giving last year with the amount cut from the federal budget. But this is not simply a question of matching resources dollar for dollar. There is no reason to underwrite with private resources the waste, fraud, duplication, and obsolete programs which our tax dollars have supported for too long.

Rather, the question is how much impact can the private sector have on local problems if it carefully identifies them, places them in some order of priority, and then marshalls the full human and financial resources of the community to deal with them. I believe the answer is "substantial."

What we fail to take account of in considering the capacity of the private sector to treat some of these concerns is the extraordinary value of time given by individuals to help others. Moreover, the business community is but one element of the private sector. Religious establishments, civic organizations, academic institutions, labor unions, and non-profit groups all have a role to play as members of the private sector, and it is their collective effort that will make the difference between success and failure in this venture.

Whether it involves the conduct of one element of the private sector, such as the Frito-Lay Company of Dallas that independently sought to find new jobs for former employees of Braniff Airlines, or the collective efforts of the private sector in partnership with government, such as "Cleveland Tomorrow," credited with reversing the fortunes of that financially-troubled city, the potential impact of private sector involvement in community problem-solving is enormous.

We are calling upon the creativity, commitment, and generosity of the American people to deal with a broad range of local problems at a fraction of the cost and with greater precision. But in order to tap that creative genius and realize the potential savings, we must get organized at the local level and increase the breadth of participation in the process.

These are bipartisan efforts and must remain so, but there are compelling reasons for Republicans to become deeply involved, and, where appropriate, take the lead.

We have more at stake politically in the success of this president's policies than anyone. If we are determined to see that those policies represent a lasting change in the fiscal direction of government in this country, as well as an opportunity to expand the base of support for our party, then we must become involved personally and actively in promoting private sector initiatives and public-private partnerships.

### **Congressional Initiatives**

For instance, a Republican congressman should encourage the formation of a private sector initiative group or committee in his district consisting of representatives from a variety of different backgrounds. This committee would have the capacity to identify specific problems in which the private sector could have an impact either alone or in partnership with government.

***"A Republican congressman should encourage the formation of a private sector initiative group or committee in his district consisting of representatives from a variety of different backgrounds."***

The role of the congressman would be to serve as a catalyst for the formation of this working partnership and a participant in identifying problems, as well as mustering the public and private resources necessary to deal with them. The congressman could also help eliminate governmental impediments to private sector action or propose new incentives for private sector activities.

In many communities or districts, an appropriate committee or group of private sector leaders already exists. In that case, the opportunity of the congressman is to join and reinforce their efforts. However, the more frequent case is that individual organizations may deal with a particular problem but do not communicate with other players in the community who also have something to offer. Therefore, the role of the congressman as a catalyst, communicator, and expeditor is critical to organizing an effective, collective effort.

These private sector groups or committees can work closely with local public sector officials resulting in an extremely important and often unprecedented dialogue. That dialogue, as well as the visible evidence of a congressman's commitment to addressing problems at the grass-roots level, will have a dramatic effect upon the perception of that individual's sense of compassion and enable the Republican Party to preach fiscal austerity in Washington, and practice private sector alternatives at home. ■



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## FOREIGN AFFAIRS: West Germany's Green Party: Political Mavericks or Power Brokers?

by William P. McKenzie

**H**eidelberg is a German city whose Old World charm has been smudged in recent years by the golden arches of McDonald's and Levi jean shops, where a real western pair can sell for over \$40. But Heidelberg is also a university community where the cries of student protest, much like those made in the United States during the 1960s, can be heard while wandering through the city's cobblestone streets, directly below the Heidelberg-Schloss Castle which adorns one of the city's pastoral hillsides.

That one would find social tension in such a setting is due to the fact that Heidelberg is situated just ten minutes from Mannheim, the site of one of the largest U.S. military installations in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). Although the confrontation expected last fall between German youths and NATO authorities over the deployment in Western Europe of U.S. Pershing II and cruise missiles never reached its zenith, the combination of military authorities and college students living side-by-side, even under the best of conditions, has never allowed for harmonious relations.

***"The voices of dissent heard in Heidelberg are much like those heard elsewhere in Germany. Primarily, they are part of a curious movement known as the 'Greens.'"***

The voices of dissent heard in Heidelberg, however, are much like those heard elsewhere in Germany. Primarily, they are part of a curious movement known as the "Greens." Curious, because the Greens are both a movement and a political party. Or, to put it differently, they are in part a movement and in part a political party, but not fully either.

### **The Development of a Green Party Program**

Like many other political parties in the FRG, the Greens rose to prominence on the back of a new idea. As one German government official commented during an interview, such parties arise more easily when their idea has been ignored by Germany's other political parties.

What the Greens capitalized on at their inception in the mid-1970s was the declining ecological standards of reindustrialized Germany. Joining them in protesting industry and government neglect were a strange mixture of environmentalists, Bavarian farmers, evangelical Christians, elderly Germans, and young students.

But the coalition changed when the Greens took on additional political ideas and subsequently became more radical.

By the early 1980s the Greens were much more vocal about West Germany withdrawing from NATO; the reunification of their homeland; the adoption of a policy of neutralism towards the United States; and the prevention of U.S. missile deployment.

Hans Joachim Veen, director of the Institute for Social Science Research of the West German Konrad Adenauer Foundation, claims that the Green Party Conference in 1979 was particularly crucial in giving the Greens a more complete leftist program. It was then, Veen says, at the instigation of its left-leaning members and a growing number of Communist sympathizers, that the party decided to address issues other than Germany's environmental standards. This move, however, only hastened the departure from the coalition of a number of older Germans, church activists, and southern farmers.

### **Gaining Political Stature**

The Green Party first appeared on a German ballot in Hamburg during a 1978 local race. In Germany, as in other parliamentary democracies, voters are not so much choosing an individual candidate as they are selecting a political party and the list of candidates that party fields.

In the Hamburg race, for example, the Greens, part of the "Colored List," received only 1.2 percent of the vote, not enough to achieve a victory (five percent has been the magic number since World War II because Hitler rose to power with only a small percentage of popular support). Yet they did collect enough of the 1982 vote in Hamburg to gain victory. They have done likewise in other state diets (a "diet" is the equivalent of a state legislature), including within the diet of the southern state of Baden-Württemberg. The Greens took nearly eight percent of the vote there on March 25, 1984. In fact, they took votes from both the Social Democrats and the Free Democrats. This prompted some German commentators to declare them the "biggest psychological winner" in that election.

The first time that members of the Green Party were sent to the West German Bundestag, or Parliament, was during the March 1983 general election. The Greens received 5.6 percent of the popular vote and were able to gain 27 seats. Ironically, this was the same election in which the power of German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, a member of the center-right Christian Democratic Union (CDU), was consolidated.

### **Mavericks or Brokers?**

While some of their actions in the Bundestag have approached being comical — Green parliamentarians have been known to ride their bikes to the Bundestag floor — it is the assumption of political power that has provided them their

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*William P. McKenzie is editor of the Ripon Forum.*



greatest internal split. The fear of being corrupted by political power, for example, has led them to establish a rule that none of their Bundestag members can serve for more than two years, which is less than their four-year elected term. According to Green Party rules, that official's seat will be taken over by his or her chief assistant or by an unelected candidate on the Green list from the previous election.

What this prevents, of course, is the establishment of a Green Party parliamentary presence. It deters, Veen says, "any real political change." Ernst von Waldenfels, a young protester interviewed in Heidelberg, said this: "The Greens very structure may limit their future."

The Greens also believe deeply in developing a consensus for their positions, which spells even more frustration for their elected leaders. Already two Green Party members in the diet of Baden-Württemberg have decided not to seek re-election because of the pressure to develop a consensus. Says Waldenfels: "Green leaders are getting frustrated because they can't take the lead on issues without first developing grass-roots support."

While some claim that the party will destroy itself because of too much disorganization, this non-political approach to politics suits others just fine. As one printer working in the Green Party headquarters, an obscure, white house within a quiet Bonn residential district, confided: "I just don't want to talk about ecology; I want to practice it." Translated, this means that these ferocious believers with fierce faces aim to live out their ideals, not just organize or build coalitions around them.

Although this is an admirable personal goal, politically it may prove the Greens' undoing. According to one American political analyst residing in Germany, many Greens are convinced that the party must remain a movement — radical, oppositionist and not aligned with West Germany's Social Democrats (SPD).

If this remains the case, then it will prove impossible for the Greens to work within existing political channels and have enough muscle to realize political and economic change. The party will be in a position, says Horst Bacia, foreign news editor of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, "of voting against important bills but having little effect."

#### Differences with Social Democrats and Christian Democrats

Some believe that the political differences between the SPD and the Green Party have been a major factor in the Greens' rise. Although these two parties share similar economic perspectives, such as greater domestic spending and public ownership of some industry, their political differences are sharp. The SPD has counted among its members a number of strong anti-Communists, including former West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt. But the Greens, says the *Allgemeine's* Bacia, "see the Soviets as no real threat." Their "Peace Manifesto" pledges "neither to the East nor to the West, but loyal to one another."

The SPD has also been solidly pro-Western, even with more leftist members like former German Chancellor Willy Brandt in charge. While the SPD basically has supported the strategic doctrine of nuclear deterrence, the Green Party has not. The Green Party's "Peace Manifesto" states that unilateral disarmament will bring liberation "from the political-bloc mentality and will open the way to our real objective — the creation of a non-violent society."

Many members of the Green Party, including the charismatic Petra Kelly, once were active members of the SPD. But since they were unable to bring more flair to it, especially with middle-of-the-roader Schmidt in charge during the mid-to-late 1970s, they left the SPD to join the Green Party-cum-movement. Says one American observer of Germany's political scene: "The Social Democrats in Great Britain came into being because the Labor Party went off the rails. In Germany, the Social Democrats went off on conservative rails, allowing the Green Party to rise." Brandt echoed these charges by saying that the Greens emerged because the SPD did not present solutions people could accept.

**"[The Greens] will have to show whether they are a political force with which to be reckoned or a group of mostly young Germans who wish to make a statement with their lives."**

The Greens' rise is also a function of the reaction given it by the ruling Christian Democratic Union. The CDU, for instance, intends to make it a crime for bystanders to observe a demonstration if they know weapons are being concealed. The CDU also plans to allow German police to disrupt demonstrations when weapons are present. Coupled with the reported statements by some CDU members that the "pacifism of the 1930s made Auschwitz possible," these actions have not achieved their aims as the Greens, like many radical movements, stand only more united when opposed.

#### Unity or Disunity?

Whether that unity can be maintained is what many conclude is the party's major hurdle. The tears in the party's existing fabric will have much to say about its level of credibility. One young European in Heidelberg, Bernard Nockels, put it this way: "Whether the Greens establish credibility will be determined over the next two years." By then, they will have to show whether they are a political force with which to be reckoned or a group of mostly young Germans who wish to make a statement with their lives.

Others also believe that should the Greens fail to impact the course of arms development, or even the deployment of American missiles in Western Europe, they will be seen as an ineffective force. Since the Greens are just now a developing presence, this could be catastrophic, especially if potential recruits drift into the SPD.

There are those who think that the Greens may be doomed to oblivion anyway since they lack the ability to compromise. Even if they achieve greater parliamentary strength, some believe that their political habits of never bending, always confronting will prevent their success.

In addition, the Greens must continue to try to capture their country's imagination on a wide variety of issues. Should they succeed in doing so, and the Social Democrats "commit hari-kari," as one analyst put it, then the Greens may become a wily force. Yet that is still just a likelihood, maybe a dim one at best, because what the Greens are practicing, as one British observer said, "is not politics, at least as we know it." ■



# Reviews Reviews Reviews Reviews Reviews Reviews Reviews Reviews

by Tanya Melich

## Ominous Politics: The New Conservative Labyrinth

John F. Saloma, Hill and Wong; New York; \$14.95

**T**he genesis and growth of the conservative movement stimulated and engaged Ripon's founding father, Jack Saloma, for over ten years, culminating in the completion of his book, *Ominous Politics*, just before he died in July 1983.

*Ominous Politics* presents the linkages between various elements composing the conservative movement and illustrates how its think tanks, its foundations, its publications, its business supporters, its political committees and cadres, have forged a broad support system which backs candidates and issues, principally but not solely, through the vehicles of the Republican Party. Saloma calls this intertwining the conservative labyrinth and his book proves its existence and omnipresence in U.S. politics.

### The Conservative Labyrinth

In tying together the essential parts of the conservative movement he has selected an example for each major category rather than offering an exhaustive list of all the conservative entities. Saloma has made a substantial intellectual contribution to the understanding of contemporary American politics. He has pinpointed a new U.S. political phenomenon — a conscious strategically planned effort to gain political power through building a presence in every major sector of American life.

***“Saloma was convinced — as I am — that a core of people had joined together with substantial business support in the late fifties to fashion a movement to change radically the face of American politics.”***

In his forward, Saloma wrote that “The Conservatives have always been careful to allow only the most trusted into their circles and there is inevitably a risk of error in attempting to tell this remarkable story without access to the inner sanctum where the actual decisions are reached. Ideally, one of the insiders should chronicle the events here, but it may be years before that happens. Still, I am convinced of the general

accuracy of this account, and I am confident that further research will confirm and extend the picture I have presented.”

It is this development which so fascinated Saloma. As a political scientist of high intellect, thoroughness and precision, he found that the trail of tracing the growth of the new conservative movement to be elusive and difficult. He was convinced — as I am — that a core of people, including William A. Rusher and William F. Buckley, Jr. of *National Review*, M. Stanton Evans formerly of the *Indianapolis News*, the late Ohio Congressman John Ashbrook, F. Clifton White and former Maryland Congressman Robert Bauman, had joined together with substantial business support in the late fifties to fashion a movement to change radically the face of American politics.

***“Saloma suggests that the labyrinth grew as a phenomenon somewhere between a conspiracy and a happenstance situation . . .”***

Their goal was simple and far-reaching: to build an ideologically conservative, political presence which would govern the country and, in the process, make the U.S. political system more like the British, i.e., a clear delineated line between liberal and conservative policies and parties. (Rusher boasted of this to me in an interview I had with him in 1960, in which he complained about the lack of neatness of our political system and how much more effective was the British system where ideological differences were so clearly stated.)

In 1969, when Jack Saloma and I first talked about the Rusher interview, he was intrigued with what Rusher had told me. As the years passed, Saloma began systematically collecting data that illustrated how the new conservative movement was planned and consciously nurtured. While Saloma is cautious in the forward to his book to point out that an insider will have to write the definitive story of its growth, Saloma offers more than enough evidence to substantiate his thesis.

In considering how the conservatives created the labyrinth, Saloma sets aside both conspiracy theory and Bertram Gross's situational logic theory, which rejects conscious planning as the cause of events but posits that the establishment is a “complex of complexes, a far-flung network of power centers, including institutional hierarchies held together by mutual interests, shared ideologies and accepted procedures for

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mediating their endless conflicts." Saloma suggests that the labyrinth grew as a phenomenon somewhere between a conspiracy and a happenstance situation, that people made it happen but at the very least were "agents of situational logic or of social forces" they only partially understood.

Saloma was too careful a scholar to say bluntly that the movement had been planned in detail, if he did not have all the facts, but he had enough evidence to prove that its general outlines had. As he points out, the challenge facing conservatives could not have been done by happenstance. It required "enormous skill and sophistication" and sensitivity to the dynamics of American politics. It also required people who were willing to dedicate a lifetime to the cause, including donating enormous sums of money over a sustained period of time. The longevity of Ronald Reagan and the independent growth of the religious right were fortuitous events that helped strengthen the movement, bringing it to national power more quickly than its founders had anticipated.

***"The longevity of Ronald Reagan and the independent growth of the religious right were fortuitous events that helped strengthen the movement, bringing it to national power more quickly than its founders had anticipated."***

Whether or not one believes there was originally a conscious effort to transform the ideological tone of American politics, no one can doubt that the conservative labyrinth exists and that it has significantly changed the nation's landscape. It is much more than the ascendancy of Ronald Reagan to the presidency. Saloma writes that even though Reagan's victory was "an essential first step in the conservative political plan," the Republican capture of the Senate and the establishment of the Heritage Foundation "shadow government" were just as important. The conservative's labyrinth is powerful and includes every major national institution. That is the primary message of *Ominous Politics*.

### **The Future of the Right**

So having built this movement, what happens now? Saloma agrees with Kevin Phillips that an effective alliance between big business and the New Right to preserve the conservative coalition requires not a free-market economic state but a corporatist one. The alliance requires "government management of capital and resources to promote economic growth" and a "radicalization of the electoral middle" through pitches "to cultural and moral traditionalism, nationalist pride and grandeur, and praise of national and personal economic security." This is precisely the agenda the Reagan administration is following. While Reagan rhetoric espouses a free-market approach, his administration is working hand-in-glove with the majority of the nation's business to enhance economic growth for the betterment of business. (See former Ripon Society member George Gilder's glorification of this trickle-down theory in his book, *Wealth and Poverty*.)

Saloma believes "we should view conservatism as basically constructive in impulse." He credits conservatives and the business community with introducing "a useful perspective in their concern for the health of the economy, dealing with the welfare state and achieving fiscal balance." But being selectively supportive of some of the conservative reforms does not mean that Saloma approves of the secretive way in which the labyrinth developed and continues to operate.

***"The conservative's labyrinth is powerful and includes every major national institution. That is the primary message of Ominous Politics."***

It wields too much power that never comes under public scrutiny. Its elitist and contradictory behavior needs to be unmasked. It is hypocritical in its neglect of equity issues for individuals, particularly women and minorities — even as it loudly proclaims a political ideology of favoring individuals over government. (Its abortion and family planning policies being only two obvious examples.)

Its racism and sexism are not qualities of a responsible political movement. Above all, its narrow approach to world problems, labeling all difficulties as communist-inspired is not responsible foreign policy. (This has its roots in the McCarthy era of the fifties when Rusher worked for the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.) Fifties confrontational tactics toward the Soviet Union are not only dated but imprudent in an age of proliferating nuclear weapons.

While Saloma died before he had a chance to fashion a detailed response for meeting the conservative challenge, he did sketch the broad outline of a coalition. It was to extend beyond the Democratic Party and would include: the core of the older liberal-labor-civil rights coalition; the liberal intelligentsia in the universities and major urban centers; the women's movement; moderate and liberal Republicans; leaders and participants of other political movements that came of age in the sixties and seventies, i.e., consumerist, environmental, the elderly, the handicapped, and the "great largely unorganized constituency for the defense of the Constitution against radical political change." It would embrace:

- the "moral legacy of the civil rights movement and the powerful ideal of a multiracial society;"
- a "new socially humane, post-Keynesian economics of the center-left that addresses the realities of American capitalism;"
- "a sensible arms control and disarmament strategy, exemplified by the widespread and spontaneous support for a nuclear freeze;"
- "an American foreign policy that advances democratic values and social justice, particularly in Latin America;" and
- support for "participatory interactive democratic politics."

He calls for the commitment of media professionals who share values of "democratic as opposed to technocratic, manipulative politics," and of cultural alternative forces represented by the counterculture and youth movements.



Unfortunately, while he has given us a grand framework, he gives little detail about how to build this new movement.

Henry Steel Commager, in his introduction to *Ominous Politics*, places the burden of the growth of the conservative movement on the subversion of reason by money. While conservatism would not have grown so quickly without large sums of money, it is too easy to say that money was what brought about its present strength. The single-mindedness of people willing to dedicate their life to the "conservative cause" was an important ingredient, but ideas were the motivating and perpetuating force. If the conservatives had not struck a responsive chord with Americans, no amount of money nor groups of dedicated individuals could have brought it its power.

***"So having built this movement, what happens now? Saloma says that an effective alliance between big business and the New Right to preserve the conservative coalition requires not a free-market economic state but a corporatist one."***

The role of an independent press is crucial in understanding the labyrinth and its impact on American politics. Commager's comment that "candidates and parties have . . . acquiesced in the authority of television to stage its own shows" illustrates a lack of understanding of the role of the press in a democratic society. It is that independence, to stage television shows among many other things, which protects our system from being long-dominated by any particular group of people — be they left or right.

***"But now that he has drawn the guiding map, perhaps the independent American press as well as academia will slowly but expertly begin to fill in the blanks."***

Saloma recognized this. He knew that an independent press is essential for a fair democracy. What he does not explain is why the first detailed documentation of the labyrinth came from a scholar not the press. It may have happened because the time and resource demands of modern mass media do not allow for long, detailed investigations of secret and semi-secret groups. Saloma worked on this project for nine years. What newspaper, magazine or broadcasting outlet can afford to assign anyone to research one subject for that long?

But now that he has drawn the guiding map, perhaps the independent American press as well as academia will slowly but expertly begin to fill in the blanks. They will find their task complicated by the conservative press and academics, who will do their best to insure that the labyrinth is portrayed in the best light.

## Conclusion

Yet despite the relative efficiency with which the labyrinth appears to operate, this new conservatism is a movement based on negative forces. It appeals often to the darker side of the American psyche. Its operating philosophy is one of fear and closed doors. It is fear of the Soviet Union which motivates its foreign policy. It is fear of women and minorities having an equal chance which fuels its social policies. It is fear of making equity more democratic which fuels its trickle-down economic approaches. And despite its numerous think tanks, its foundations, its committees, cadres and press, it is this meanspiritedness which the American people will reject once they finally understand it.

For the moment, their capacity to judge the movement for what it truly is is being blocked by the "nice guy" personality of Ronald Reagan. Soon though, very soon, this will end as these policies bear ugly fruit. Whether this will happen this election year is anyone's guess, but the seeds of this fruit have been sown and are growing. More and more people are being hurt by this ungenerous, uncaring ideology and eventually enough will say "no more." ■

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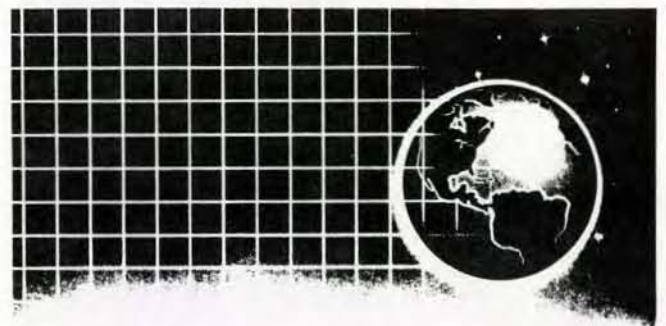
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## The Chairman's Corner: Republicans in the Mainstream

by Jim Leach

**A**s chairman of the Ripon Society, I called a press conference last month to announce the formation of the Republican Mainstream Committee.

Based upon discussions over the past nine months with various groups representing arms control, women's and civil rights, and environmental concerns, the committee is being established to coordinate testimonies at the Republican National Convention in Dallas on a spectrum of issues which we consider to represent historical Republicanism.

Traditionally, the Republican Party has stressed individual rights and governmental pragmatism. Republican roots are those of Lincoln and opposition to slavery; of Teddy Roosevelt and creation of our national park system; of Wendell Willkie and his one-world view of responsible internationalism; of Eisenhower and pragmatic decision-making; and of Robert Taft and Barry Goldwater and their emphasis on individual rights and initiative.

Today, we believe, there is danger that our party may lose its rationalization for existence if the ascendancy of the so-called New Right is not checked.

Although first to endorse the principle of an Equal Rights Amendment at a national convention, our party has now become the first to sanction its abandonment; although founded on the Lincolnian notion that rights, to be valid, must be colorblind, our party has downgraded civil rights concerns at home and downplayed human rights positions abroad; although committed to the separation of church and state, our party is toying with constitutional revisionism through the imposition of state-crafted prayer in public schools.

While it may seem ironic to some for moderates today to emphasize the Goldwater-Taft tradition, we believe that the philosophical underpinnings most conducive to the party's long-term viability are those emphasizing individual rights.

Accordingly, we expect to testify in Dallas in support of a series of progressive causes ranging from arms control to the environment; from campaign reform to the need for fiscal discipline.

In announcing this initiative, we respectfully intend to dissent from our party's decision to abandon the traditional platform process in which hearings historically have been held across the country. Believing that the strength of a party comes from ideas generated from the bottom up, not the top down, we have helped to offer a series of platform development hearings in Des Moines, Madison, Lansing, Philadelphia, Hartford, and Sacramento.

These hearings will provide a basis for our testimony but we would emphasize that we do not presume to represent a majority voice in Dallas. What we do presume is that the strength of the Republican Party is its diversity. Our concern

is that the Republican Party will drift even further to the right if the only focal point for platform dissent is the far right itself. A platform reflecting a narrow ideological approach to the issues of our day jeopardizes President Reagan's re-election efforts. The best way we know to strengthen the Republican Party and the prospect of the president's re-election is to speak out for principle and moderation.

### Battle of Ideas

Ironically, the only idea battle the public has so far witnessed this year is in the Democratic Party where the contract between the old and the new has been fought out in the Mondale-Hart primary clash. By polarizing the electorate and opting for Mondale and the old Democratic approaches, the Democrats would appear to have shot themselves in their own feet. Republicans, on the other hand, would be wiser to return to their heritage rather than travel with the New Right down the road of socialized values and an undisciplined fiscal policy. The long-term vitality, if not viability, of the Republican Party rests with its mainstream heritage.

***"The best way we know to strengthen the Republican Party and the prospect of the president's re-election is to speak out for principle and moderation."***

Whereas the Democratic mistake in 1984 is not to have broken with a publicly rejected past, the Republican mistake would be to opt for newer, untested values — for maintenance of twelve-figure deficits, for reluctance to restrain the arms race, for unshackling environmental safeguards while shackling women's rights.

We members of the Republican Mainstream Committee expect to set forth a considered platform position in a constructive, buttoned-down way. We expect to use a variety of techniques, including the presentation of an originally written play by a delegate from Pennsylvania, to put across our message. There will be no bra-burning or radical demonstration associated with our efforts, but the depth of our beliefs should not be underemphasized.

The far right will not be allowed to take over the Republican Party by default. ■

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*Jim Leach is a member of Congress from Iowa and chairman of the Ripon Society.*



# 419 New Jersey Avenue



*Rep. Jim Leach, Sen. Mark Hatfield, Rep. Barber Conable, and 22nd Anniversary Dinner master of ceremonies Jack McDonald.*



*Sen. Mark Hatfield addresses Ripon Society annual dinner.*

## Ripon News

The Republicans of the Year Award dinner, commemorating the Ripon Society's twenty-second anniversary, was held on June 28th at the Capitol Hill Club. The honorees were Senator Mark O. Hatfield, R-OR, and Congressman Barber B. Conable, Jr., R-NY. Congressman Conable will be retiring at the end of this year after serving 20 years in the House of Representatives. As the ranking member of the House Ways and Means Committee, Conable has shown pragmatic and thoughtful leadership in many areas, not the least of which has been fiscal responsibility. He will be a loss to the House Republican leadership. Senator Hatfield, even while having to leave the dinner for several votes, gave a rousing speech on the need to move the party forward. He suggested that we must question the dogmas of the present by looking for solutions to today's problems in the ideas of tomorrow . . .

In its continuing effort to generate discussion of the pending party platform among Republicans, the Ripon Society held the fourth in a series of regional platform conferences in Hartford, Connecticut on June 23. Elected officials joining Congressman Jim Leach in leading the discussions were State Senator Anne Streeter and State Representative Pauline Kezer. Also leading panel discussions were Riponers Judith Frew of Planned Parenthood and Bill Ehrig of the Pepsi Corporation. The topics of discussion ranged from civil rights and women's rights, the environment and priorities for the 1980s, to budget priorities in the areas of defense and education. A strong emphasis was placed on tax reform and reduction of the federal budget deficit. Also discussed were new job training proposals and public works employment. Comments from this meeting — along with resolutions passed at other conferences — will be sent to the Temporary Committee on Resolutions (platform) prior to the convention in Dallas.

## National News

Several noted political periodicals have indicated that President Reagan has a stronghold on young voters (ages 18-30). This stems from three reasons: 1) the younger generation



is concerned about economic issues; 2) the president is perceived as being strong on economic growth; and 3) 18-25 year olds in particular have known only one other president — Jimmy Carter. Their vote in a Mondale v. Reagan match, therefore, might be a vote against Carter, and thus Mondale, more so than it would be a vote in favor of Reagan. The Republican Party thus has a challenge to develop alternatives to retain this economically conservative, but socially liberal constituency . . .

*The Washington Times*, the Washington, D.C.-based newspaper owned by the Reverend Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church, has once again made news. On July 16th, James Whelan, the paper's editor and publisher, was relieved of his duties. In a statement he has charged that *The Washington Times* is "firmly in the hands of top officials of the Unification Church movement." (See January 1983 *Forum* article for additional details on the church and the newspaper.)

### State News

In **California** on July 21, the Summer Leadership Conference convened at Santa Cruz's Greenwood Lodge to begin the process of expanding sources of support and ideas for the next generation of Republican leaders. Through seminars, workshops and simulation games, the conference identified leaders in the state of California who are willing to begin the process of recruiting new Republican members, candidates and ideas. One week later, the Ripon Society — in conjunction with the Republicans of the National Women's Political Caucus, California Republicans for Choice, the Sierra Club, the National Education Association and the California Republican League held its final regional platform hearing. Themes discussed were similar to those raised at the four previous conferences. Added to the list of vital concerns were the party rules that will be adopted in Dallas and will in turn affect the 1988 Republican Convention . . .

**Colorado's** Mike Strang is vying for the congressional seat held by retiring incumbent Ray Kogovsek. As a former state representative, stockbroker, rancher and current chair of "Citizens for the Arts," the moderate Republican is a strong candidate for the Third District seat . . .

Former **Connecticut** Congressman and Ripon Congressional Advisory Board (CAB) member Larry DeNardis is running hard to regain his seat in his state's Third District. DeNardis is picking up support from independent voters and the latest polls show him doing well . . .

Elise duPont is providing formidable opposition in **Delaware** for freshman Democrat Thomas Carper, the state's only congressional representative. Carper defeated Republican Congressman Tom Evans in 1982, so it would be great to have the seat returned as well as to have another Republican woman in Congress . . .

Led by **Iowa's** Mary Louise Smith, former chair of the GOP, a coalition of Ripon members successfully defended a pro-choice plank on reproductive rights in the Iowa party platform against strong anti-choice efforts from the right . . .

**Illinois's** Harris Faywell is a formidable candidate for the highly contested congressional seat in the state's 13th District. Faywell is a former state senator. In addition, three-term

Senator Charles Percy is waging a tough battle to retain his seat. He is being challenged by 24th District Congressman Paul Simon. Percy, incidentally, is being assisted in his efforts by former Ripon administrative director Greg Knopp. Knopp now serves as the campaign's political action committee director . . .

U.S. Ambassador Elliot Richardson's Senate campaign in **Massachusetts** looks stronger every day, despite the fact that should he win the August primary he faces tough Democratic opposition in November. Elsewhere in Massachusetts, Boston Ripon chapter members have joined forces with the state Republican Party in publishing a monthly newsletter. It is being distributed to 20,000 Bay State Republicans in an effort to help expand the Republican Party and improve communication . . .

Bill Shuette, a candidate for **Michigan's** 10th District, is running against three-term incumbent Don Albosta. Shuette's campaign is regarded as very professional and well-organized. Also in Michigan, an active race continues for the Republican nomination in the 5th District. Contenders include Kerry Sawyer, son of the retiring representative, Hal Sawyer; Ripon member Paul Henry; and former Hatfield legislative aide Greg Doublestein . . .

Ripon CAB member Senator Dave Durenberger remains concerned about the emergence of single-issue politics in **Minnesota**. Durenberger recently told the *Minneapolis Star and Tribune*: "If the only way you can get to be a delegate is to be a born-again Christian, or to be yes on prayer or against abortion, if that's the only way you can get elected to office, then we somehow need to let more people into the political process." . . .

**Missouri's** Carrie Francke is waging a battle against Representative Harold Volkmer in the Ninth District. Francke has the strong support of Ripon CAB member Senator Jack Danforth. In the Second District, Ripon member Jack Buechner is running well against four-term incumbent Robert Young . . .

The race to fill the seat of upstate **New York's** Barber Conable appears to be less heated than expected. The current U.S. ambassador to Fiji, Fred Eckert, also a former state senator, has emerged as the front-runner. Like Conable, Eckert is known as a problem-solving politician . . .

**Ohio's** Matt Hatchadorian is squaring off against one-term incumbent Edward Fieghan in the state's 19th District. While standing strong on defense, Hatchadorian has spoken often about new jobs and a reduced deficit. Some think his chances are improving weekly . . .

Tom Ridge, a freshman congressman from Erie, **Pennsylvania**, faces a tough re-election battle. Since his district is heavily unionized, this is the kind of seat that will remain Republican only through the efforts of a moderate like Ridge . . .

In breaking with party tradition, the **Tennessee** GOP officially endorsed Senate hopeful Victor Ashe before the party's August 2 primary. Ashe now is running against Democratic Representative Albert Gore, the favorite in the race for the seat of retiring Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker. The contest, however, is just beginning and funds have yet to be raised. Anything can happen . . .

And in **Texas**? Well, what can be said about this former Republic except that we will arrive there in August for the GOP Convention and see for ourselves. ■



## Washington Notes and Quotes

With only twenty-five days of work remaining before members of Congress return to their districts to face the voters, Congress watchers predict a surprisingly productive session in 1984. Election year Congresses are often viewed as overly cautious, though in 1982 the Congress countered conventional wisdom by passing a sizeable tax increase. This year, despite an unusually high level of partisan hostility and ideological bickering by conservatives in the House, the Congress seems likely to "succeed" — despite itself . . .

Congress frequently abdicates its responsibility to adjust federal spending levels with annual appropriations bills, instead choosing to rely on "continuing resolutions" which keep federal funds flowing for months at a time while political impasses are eventually either settled or ignored. At this date, however, the House of Representatives has already passed eight of thirteen appropriations bills, with several more likely to pass before Labor Day. Emergency food aid to drought-stricken Africans has been approved; increases in covert aid to Nicaraguan rebels were dropped. Two measures unlikely to pass: a funding bill for the Defense Department, and foreign military and economic aid.

On other budget matters, the president signed legislation in July making a \$65 billion "downpayment" on federal deficits over three years. Medicare benefit reductions and Medicaid funding increases will yield a net savings of about \$13 billion. A high tax on liquor and telephones, and dozens of tax loophole closings, should generate revenue increases of nearly \$50 billion. Real action on growing deficits will be delayed until 1985. The congressional budget process, reformed in 1974 to limit Richard Nixon's power, appears to be breaking down, with new talk of reforms in 1985 or soon after . . .

Despite threatening budget deficits, the nation's defense will definitely not suffer for lack of funding. The administration opened bidding with a 1985 defense request of \$313 billion; House and Senate proposals would allow budget growth of 3.5 and 7.8 percent, after taking inflation into account. A likely outcome — approximately \$295 billion.

Debate is growing on the issue of whether the cost of expensive new weapons systems prevents adequate funding of conventional forces. Reports of a decline in military preparedness will fuel the debate; Republican senators are leading an effort to reform Pentagon procurement policies in order to get "more bang for the buck." Endangered weapons systems include anti-satellite missiles, sea-launched cruise missiles, binary chemical munitions and the MX missile whose nine lives must have nearly expired . . .

Other likely targets of congressional action include child support enforcement, immigration reform and strengthened federal clean water laws. Both the House and Senate have unanimously passed legislation which would crack down on parents who are not meeting their child support obligations by allowing mandatory withholding from the paychecks of parents in arrears. Substantial changes in immigration law are expected if House-Senate conferees can iron out differences on

the nature of sanctions against employers who knowingly hire illegal aliens and on the scope of a proposed amnesty program to give legal status to millions of aliens already living in the country. Additionally, both chambers have passed differing versions of legislation which would deny federal farm benefits to those farming on "fragile" land subject to substantial soil erosion.

Long-delayed legislation authorizing new federal spending to improve mathematics and science education has also been approved by both houses. The same legislation is likely to provide student religious groups with the right to meet in public schools. If House-Senate differences on "equal access" can be reconciled, the measure is expected to be signed by the president before you read this . . .

Finally, issues not likely to be addressed by this Congress include insurance discrimination, acid rain, natural gas price controls, a subminimum wage for young workers, domestic content requirements for foreign-manufactured autos, televised broadcasts of Senate debates, and campaign spending reform . . .

Whether these and other issues of national concern are addressed by future Congresses depends in part on the ability of legislators to fashion workable procedural rules. Combative House conservatives led by Georgia Republican Newt Gingrich have continued their attack of Tip O'Neill's use of House rules to discourage debate of the New Right's agenda, in the process decreasing chances of consensus on other issues. According to *Congressional Quarterly*, the Senate is increasingly frustrated by a "redundancy factor" which, for example, allows ten votes on the MX missile in only two years. Commenting on the same frustration, Representative Bill Frenzel of Minnesota complains, "We vote on the debt ceiling almost as often as we vote on the MX and abortion."

In the next *Forum* . . . the hopes and fears of Republicans looking forward to the 99th Congress. ■

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